1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

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TELEGRAPH WIRES

19. Westward is an iron road
Above it iron stretches;
Humming, it stretches.(12)

DISTANT TRAIN

20. Teimot Mountain!
Teimot Mountain!
Up there, on the edge I lie,
Everywhere looking.
Far yonder, toward me,
A burning feather headdress
Upon me shines.(12)

THE BLENDING WITH CHRISTIANITY

197 Ever since the late seventeenth century, there have been Papago
794 who were properly baptized Roman Catholics. Yet there was never a church in desert country until after the arrival of American priests in 1909. For over two hundred years, then, the contacts of the Desert People with organized Christianity have been intermittent and mostly of their own choosing. The result is some versions of Catholic ceremony which are of their own devising, but are cherished to this day.

797 The first baptisms in Papago country were made by Father Kino, the famous Jesuit missionary who labored among the Pimans from 1687 to 1711. Kino established a string of missions in what is now Sonora, with only two north of the present international border. These were San Gabriel, at the village of Guevavi (later moved to Tumacacori), and San Xavier, at the village of Bac (Papago, *wahk*, the hollow place). Their site, in the fertile valley of the Santa Cruz, is now occupied by Tucson and other towns. It was then the home of the Soba Jipuri, a branch of the Pimans which has become almost extinct.[1] Kino was particularly impressed with the agriculturists of this valley, and he stocked their missions well with grain and cattle. Probably, too, he gave them the standard organization for a mission church, with native sac-

[1] Underhill, 1939, pp. 15–17.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

ristans and "fiscales," or collectors of tithes. Some of this organi- 797
zation persists at San Xavier to the present day.

None of this achievement had much to do with the Papago of this study, who lived in the remote desert, outside Kino's usual orbit. Nevertheless, it was probably due to him that certain features of Catholic ritual took firm root in Papago culture and went on developing even when missionary influence was removed. One of these was baptism with a Spanish name. Kino reports how he made flying trips through the desert and how its savage inhabitants came as far as a hundred leagues to be baptized.[2] One can hardly believe, in view of later reports, that their eagerness came from any understanding of the Christian rite. But naming [778]
by a shaman was already a well-known source of power. It seems probable that the Desert People were anxious to add power from a white shaman to what they already had.

This attitude continued. Over the centuries the Papago made a habit of adding Spanish names to their own whenever possible, [484]
and they even made long journeys to Mexico to obtain them with the proper ceremony. These trips to Mexico were another institution which may very well stem from Kino's time. The missionary found he was unable to give proper instruction to Indians during his hasty passage through their villages. He made a habit of inviting selected younger ones to spend a winter in his Sonora missions for indoctrination. The Indians were willing to go, for they had always been travelers. The barrenness of their country made it impossible to stay in any one place for the whole year, and they often spent the winter in the river valleys of Mexico merely to keep from starvation. The visit to a Mexican church, instituted by Kino, grew into a cult, as will appear later.

Kino's string of missions lasted until 1767, when the Jesuits were expelled from the New World. During their later years there had been no further attempts to evangelize the Desert People, and any visits the Papago chose to make had been purely on their own initiative. The same situation continued when the Franciscans took over, in 1769. Now, however, the center of church activity moved a little nearer the Papago, for the Franciscans gave

[2] Bolton, 1919, 161.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

797 up the Sonora missions, owing to poverty and the Apache raids. They concentrated on the two just above the Arizona border, Tumacacori and Bac.

797 These big irrigated villages had been, so far, occupied by the 794 Soba Jipuri, a people of somewhat different culture from the Papago, though of Piman speech.[8] There is no telling how much contact there had been, for these valleys were well within reach of the roving Papago. Now, during the late eighteenth century, the Apache raids grew more menacing; the Soba Jipuri villages broke up, and the Papago, who had less to lose, seeped in to occupy the land. Finally a smallpox epidemic practically wiped out the Soba Jipuri, and Bac, with its Franciscan church of San Xavier, became a village of the northern Papago.

794 At last the Desert People had a chance for continuous church membership, though Bac was not in their own country and most of them only stayed there for part of the year. Some took part in the church organization, and even today they install church officers at New Year's with the ancient ceremony first established in New Spain. When the Franciscans, too, left the missions, during the Mexican war of independence (1821–23), the Papago saved the church vessels and the holy images by burying them in the desert, just as they did with their own metates when they moved camp. They still tell legends of how the images called to them from underground when it was time to recover them.

794 Even the Papago inhabitants of Bac went back to the desert 177 for part of the year, and they still retain their village affiliations 484 with Archie and Akchin. The other Papago remained aloof from the churches, merely making their occasional trips "to get names." For this purpose they often chose Mexico, rather than the nearer Bac, for they could combine the journey with a winter of paid work for Mexicans or acculturated Indians. Kino's plans for in- 794 doctrination had not worked out, but the Papago did begin to 177 acquire some fragments of Christian ritual in the course of their visits. Living in some household of Hispanicized Indians, they could learn a few prayers, hear saint stories, and acquire a crucifix without any of the attendant discipline. The crucifix early

[8] See Underhill, 1939, pp. 15–17.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

794 The Protestant services held on the reservation show no such
● 799 blending of Christian with pagan, for the Protestants demand a
177 complete break. Only one sect is present in Papagueria, the Presbyterians. They have had missionaries at work since before the reservation was established and have now three or four churches, with native missionaries. This sober sect, lacking in the pageantry of Catholicism, nevertheless fits at some points into the Papago pattern. The Papago, from their very poverty, could not indulge in pageantry to the extent common in the Pueblos and it may be that they did not feel such necessity for ceremonial display in a new religion. On the other hand, they were used to a council meeting in which elder after elder delivered a speech of admonition, exhorting all to adhere to the Papago moral law. The procedure of a Protestant prayer meeting is highly sympathetic to such people.

794 A further appeal is made by the singing. The native mission-
177 aries are taught, as part of their training, to play the piano and to perform part singing, and they make a point of teaching hymns to their congregations. The hymns used are modern ones, with lively choruses, and in these the Papago delight. They are enchanted with the part singing, which is new to them, and will croon over a bass part for hours, as they once did their ceremonial songs. The various rural churches compete in singing at their yearly camp meeting, and the feeling of rivalry then aroused is a little like that at the old intervillage games.

At present every Papago, except the very old, has some church affiliation. Some attend all services occasionally, while also patronizing the shaman. Still, acculturation is proceeding so fast that this nondescript stage can hardly endure. The different areas show signs of settling down to permanent allegiance, mostly dictated, as Papago economics are, by family affiliation.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Bac (vahk, the hollow place)

The large and important village of San Xavier del Bac, once a stronghold of the Sóba Jípuris, now ranks as a daughter village of Archie, having been settled by its people as the Sóba Jípuris died out. Bac is the only one of the old irrigated towns now on the Papago reservation. In Kino's time, while the Sóba Jípuris still held it, the Father Visitor thought its irrigation compared favorably with that of Mexico City itself.[1] But during the eighteenth century, the Sóba Jípuris died out of some contagious disease and the desert Papagos seeped in to use the fields. The writer was able to find no traditions among them which differ from those current on the reservation, but Bac has long been under intensive White influence and all native traits are fast disappearing.

The village was given a missionary in Kino's time and continued to have one, at least intermittently, until Mexico's separation from Spain. It was the only town above the Mexican border to have this intensive Spanish influence and it may have been for that reason that the Sóba Jípuris remained there when they left the other Santa Cruz villages. The church founded by Kino is still there and the people are definitely Catholic.

The present Bac people are largely from the Santa Rosa neighborhood. Many of them retain their old fields and vibrate back and forth.

Santa Rosa (kaitc mĭhk, Burnt Seeds) is an offspring of Archie which has far outgrown the parent village and now has a chief and ceremonial leader of its own. It uses several wells. Covered Wells is the largest and oldest, a place where water could be reached through the gravel of a sunken stream; others are Comobabi (shared with Akchin), Cobabi (Badger Well), Noipakam, and o'ot wahwia (Sand Wells). Offspring of Santa Rosa is the village across the wash, really an extension of the parent village and called kokomat kihk (Palo Verde Standing), also sikorhimatk (Where Water Whirls Round), on the road to Sells. Bolton thinks that a delegation which visited Kino at Mesquite Root may have come from this last place.[2]

Akchin (ak ṭcinyi, Mouth of the Gap)

In the valley with Archie and Santa Rosa and so close that the three act practically as one, though having separate governments. All three join, with Anegam in the harvest feast and the drinking ceremonies. Kino visited Akchin in 1698, was welcomed by four hundred people and baptised sixty one

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 288.

[2] Bolton, 1936, p. 299 note.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

another well. Others went to wahw kĭhk, (Standing Rock) abandoned that, and moved across the road to San Isidro (havanyi nakia, Hanging Crow). All these offshoots considered themselves under the governor of kuitatk, while that village still existed and ultimately under the governor of Archie. However, they had a subsidiary governor and a ceremonial leader of their own, located at San Pedro but they have grown so fast that they are considering a governor at San Isidro also.

Other offshoots of kuitatk are: Santa Cruz, Rincon Jeowic, Alamo, Chuapo, Artesia.

Komalik (komarik, Flat Place)

This is the southernmost of the Archie village units, near the Mexican border and under the shadow of the Baboquivari Range, the dwelling of Elder Brother. It is the rancheria of Baggiburi, reported by Kino to have five hundred inhabitants.[1] It acknowledges relationship to Archie but is too far away to join in the quadrennial harvest feast. Its neighbors, some of them interspersed among the Komalik Wells belong to the southern or Mexican dialect division and are considered almost as foreigners by the dwellers of Komalik who still have the speech of the north and many of its rituals. Komalik has moved slightly from its former position at kom wo'o (Mulberry Pond) which was too open to the Apache. Its present Well is Bear Well.

Its oldest offspring is the neighboring village of Chulic, whose inhabitants are said to have been frightened out of Komalik by the Apache. Chulic also uses Bear Well.

Topawa is another offspring, originally called koks mĭhk (Burnt Dog). Its present name is also Papago, a White corruption of the Papago words ṭ pawi, it is a bean, used in answer to a question as to their crops. Topawa is headquarters for the Franciscan missionaries. It uses a well at Fresnal, although Fresnal is Koloti property, while its own well is called pi-t-oikam, (their special well).

2. KUHATK DIALECT GROUP

Kuhatk, meaning something dried and burnt, was spelled by the Spaniards *Quajote*. The name applies to a small strip of territory at the north of the reservation, between the Archie group and the Pima. It figures largely in the tale of conquest and it was here, in the early days of settlement that the best warriors were said to live. The Bitter Man at Kuhatk was leader in battle for his own group and for Archie.

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 390.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

In Spanish days, however, it was the individual who was punished and usually by whipping. It is hard to be positive that whipping is a foreign institution yet it seems likely since the Papago are chary of physical contact especially in public. This may seem surprising in a society where ten or more people could live and sleep in a one-room house, but one may conjecture that it is an avoidance generated by that very fact. They maneuver without touching one another where Europeans, who have more privacy, are continually doing so. They did not, anciently, slap or whip children. It is to be expected that a people with this attitude would object to corporal punishment, particularly when they have cultivated such a violent sensitiveness and openness to humiliation. The missionaries, on the contrary, whipped their neophytes as they would whip the children they considered them to be. That the Papago should have been willing to adopt this system is the surprising thing. We may lay it to the extreme prestige of these givers of wheat and horses, and also to the fact that the native selected to dispense whipping felt himself raised to the supernatural power of the priests. Certainly the institution of whipping grew, from the eight stripes delivered by the *alcalde* for drunkeness or absence from mass to a standardized penalty for all misdemeanors, sometimes including murder. Those which were mentioned as always whipped fall under the heading of sins in the Christian sense. A list of these offenses and their penalties follow:

Murder: The chief would have the murderer whipped and force him to make restitution in property.

Adultery: Both offenders whipped and the wife sent back to her husband.

Quarrels between spouses: Either a wife or a husband might complain of the other's laziness, cruelty or light conduct and have the offender whipped.

Disobedience of children: Parents might complain of laziness or light conduct, particularly in a daughter, or of her disobedience in not taking a husband. Some cases are reported where the chief felt that the parents had been in the wrong and had them whipped instead of the child.

Slander: All reports of misconduct were investigated and if, they proved untrue, those who had spread the rumor were whipped, whether male or female.

There follows a provision heard from only one informant and showing an interesting combination of the old and the new systems.

> If a father failed to have the puberty ceremony for his daughter at the proper time, he should be whipped. If he proved that he had not been told, the mother was punished instead. (26)

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A PAPAGO WOMAN

FOREWORD

THE Papago Indians live on three reservations in the southwest corner of Arizona, near the Mexican border. They belong to the Piman-Sonoran language group and are, in language and descent, identical with the Pima whom they call River People, while they themselves are Desert People. Both were found by the Spaniards in the country they now occupy, which extends from the Gila River in Arizona to the Altar River in Sonora, and which once constituted the ancient Spanish province of Upper Pimeria.

The first important contact of the Whites with Pimeria was at the end of the seventeenth century when the famous missionary, explorer, and business executive, Father Kino established his chain of missions in the Altar Valley. He made a few extensions into the present Arizona, notably at San Xavier, near the present Tucson, and he also toured the whole of Pimeria, not once but many times, distributing cattle and seeds, and baptizing the people with Spanish names. It was in his day that the Papago learned to spend the rainless and hungry winters at the pleasant Altar missions, learning the eighteenth century Spanish methods of farming, which some of them practise to this day.

But the desert country did not attract Spanish colonization. After Kino's time, such Spanish traits as reached the Papago were adopted after their yearly visits to Mexico, rather than forced on them by close contact. Pimeria adhered technically to the Spanish colonial system by which the head man of each village was elected by the people and confirmed in office by the provincial governor. But the lieutenant governor, the sheriff, and the church officers who should have completed the picture, were nonexistent. Church services were a form, continued side by side with the ancient ceremonies which persisted with a vitality impossible in the subjugated provinces of Mexico.

This condition of slow acculturation persisted until the Gadsden purchase in 1853. With this change, Pimeria was cut violently in two, the new international boundary running through its lower portion, the home of the Papago, and leaving half of them in the United States and half in Mexico. It was to Mexico that the Papago felt allegiance, for their desert country was still forbidding to both miners and ranchers, and they were left to follow their old customs almost unmolested. Not so with the Pima. Their fertile land, along the Gila, was directly in the track of the gold rush, the trappers, and the Apache fighters. The Pima supplied all these travellers with grain, and early established a relationship which made for swift acculturation not to Mexican standards but to American.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

MAP I

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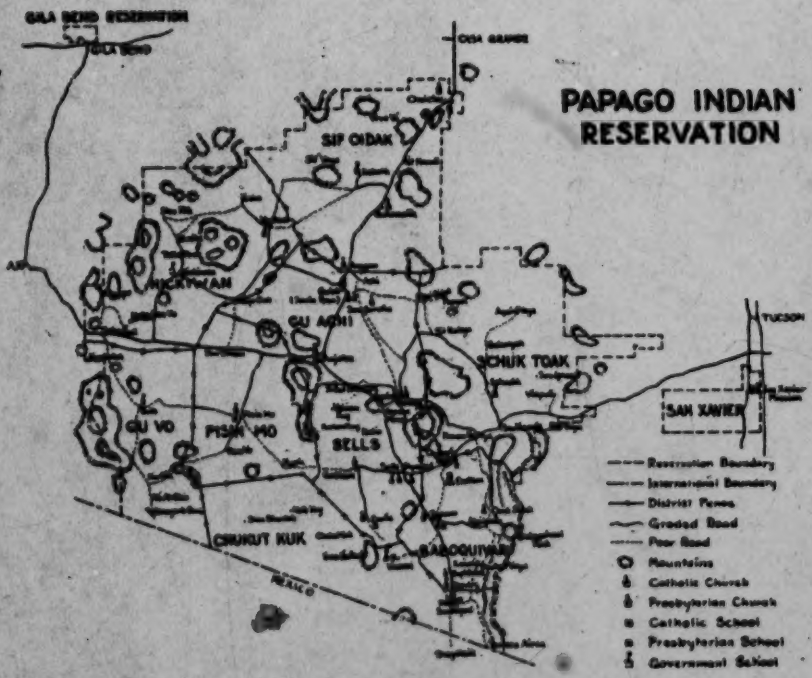

PAPAGO INDIAN RESERVATION, 1943

[p.5]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

172 same people for many centuries. The occupants of Ventana Cave grew the same type of corn a thousand years ago. This suggests a continuity of the Hohokam culture through the Papago, because new immigrants would almost certainly have brought in some new strains of corn.

SPANIARD AND APACHE

175 The second period of Papago history begins with the first journey of the Jesuit priest, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, through Papaguería in 1698. It ends shortly after 1870, when the Papago came under the nominal control of the Indian Agent on the Pima Reservation. These one hundred and seventy-five years coincide roughly with the duration of the Apache wars.

More than a century before Father Kino's arrival at the border of Papaguería, Jesuit priests, in company with soldiers and civil officials of Spain, had started their work on the northwestern coast of Mexico. In some places the conquest was cruel and bloody; in others the priests and soldiers were welcomed. Slowly they advanced northward, "reducing" the Indians in one river valley after another. In 1687 Kino finally reached the region that is now northern Sonora, where he settled and established missions.[5] Kino looked toward the north as the great unknown, and he heard about bands of Apaches to the east who had already begun to raid the villages along the San Pedro and Santa Cruz rivers. Eventually he was able to explore this country to the north of him, making several journeys through the heart of Papaguería.

Father Kino was quite aware that he was meeting Indians of more than one tribe on his travels, even though the tribes were much alike culturally and spoke closely related dialects. In his journal and reports he mentions five different groups with whom he visited. They all spoke dialects of the Piman language. These groups were, as he called them: (1) the "Pima proper," who lived nearest the Spanish settlements in northern Sonora, on the upper waters of the several rivers which head there; (2) the Sobaípuri (or Soba y Jípuri), north of the "Pima proper" along the San Pedro and Santa Cruz rivers; (3) the Gileño, along the Gila River to Gila Bend; (4) the "Papago" in the desert between these rivers as far west as the Growler Mountains; and (5) the Soba, along the Lower Altar and San Ignacio rivers and the Gulf of California coast[6] (see Map II). It has been estimated that the Papago as a whole (including all these groups) numbered about 10,000 in 1700.[7] Some of these people Kino saw only briefly; with others he had a long acquaintance.

5. The portion of history dealing with Father Kino and the Jesuits is taken largely from Herbert Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, chaps. xiv–xxx.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 246–48. See pp. 66 ff. for present distribution of these groups.

7. Carl Sauer, *Aboriginal Population of Northwestern Mexico*, p. 32.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

All too little was written by Father Kino and Manje, his military companion, about the way of life of the people they found on their journeys through Papaguería. They tell instead of how these Indians welcomed the priest with "arches and crosses" (which they had learned from Indians whom Kino had already visited) and begged for instruction and baptism. Kino does mention that these Indians had abundant food supplies of corn and beans and

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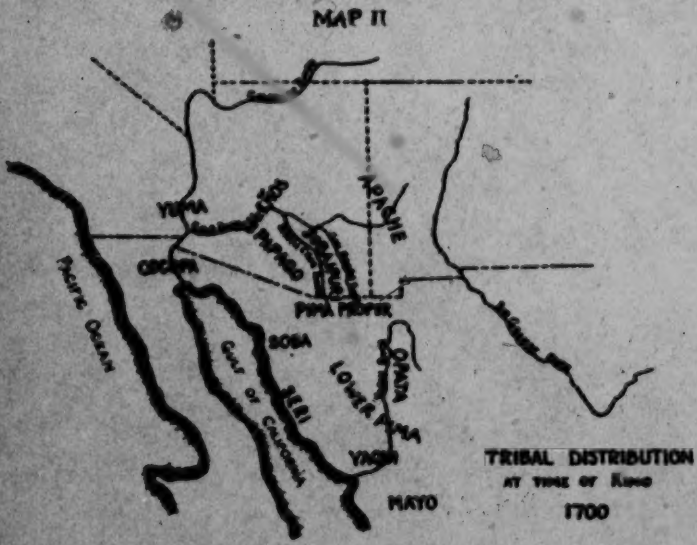

DISTRIBUTION OF PIMAN PEOPLES AND SURROUNDING TRIBES ABOUT 1700

large villages with headmen. The neighboring Sobaipuri and the Pima on the Gila River, he said, had chiefs, each of whom controlled more than one village.

The Spaniards' trips were hurried, with little more than one-day stops at even the largest villages, during which they spoke to the people about God and the king of Spain and baptized the young children and the sick. In some places they appointed governors and other officials for the villages and gave them canes of office in the name of the king of Spain.[8] The people were friendly and helpful. They always begged Kino to come again.

8. Some people say that the Spanish at some time appointed seven governors who were under a head governor at Gu Achi, an organization which apparently was not very effective (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Code of Laws of the Papago Tribe and Annual Statistical Report, Sells Agency . . . 1953*, p. 13).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

175 He did intend to come again, or to send others, to found missions. For this
● 197 purpose, and to provision his own expeditions, he sent many herds of horses and cattle ahead and supplied the people with seeds to plant wheat. But no missions were ever founded in the Papago country north of the border.

To the south were established Dolores (Kino's headquarters), Magadalena, San Ignacio, Caborca, Pitaquito, Oquitoa, Tubatama, Sáric, Ootcam near Pozo Verde (just across the present international border at the tip of the Baboquivari Mountains), and Sonóita (on the present border at the western edge of the Papago country). The Pima, Soba, and Papago of this southern territory were fairly thoroughly missionized, although there were occasional uprisings. Three missions were also founded among the Sobaípuri along the fertile Santa Cruz River, the main north-and-south route. These missions—San Gabriel de Guébavi, San Cayetano de Tumacácori, and San Xavier del Bac—were short-lived but were re-established later.

Kino's vision of missions among the Papago proper never materialized. He cultivated the people as much as he could, realizing that they were a bulwark against the marauding Apache, and he gave them cattle, horses, wheat and other seeds, baptism, and a glimpse of Catholicism. But he did not bring about the great change in their culture which the missionized Indians experienced. His influence was felt mainly in the southern and eastern portions of Papaguería.

175 Primarily it was the Apache who kept the Papago free from Spanish influ-
648 ence. Before Kino's arrival the Apache had been plunderers, but, after he came, they acquired horses, giving them a wider range and the means of swifter attack. The danger to the Papago increased tenfold. The Apache moved far toward the west, forcing the Sobaípuri before them out of the San Pedro and Santa Cruz valleys.[9] The Apache also occupied the mountains to the north, cutting off the trade route between the Pima and Hopi. Their raids extended far down into Sonora and to villages in the western part of the present Papago Reservation. Kino, after continuous appeals to the Spanish officials, was able to establish two defense stations with soldiers, who fought in co-operation with the Sobaípuri and Papago against the Apache, but this did not stop the raids. After Kino died in 1711, Spanish efforts to repel the marauders almost ceased. They remained a menace until finally subdued by the United States Army in 1885.

The Apache raids had extensive effects on the Papago. It is most probable

9. Some had already started to move west in Kino's time (Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 395). The mission at Guébavi was abandoned in 1784; that at Tumacácori in 1820 or 1825 (Gerard Decorme, *Obra de los Jesuitas mexicanos*, p. 430).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

that before this time the Papago had lived in rather small villages, spending the summer in the valleys where they planted and harvested their crops, in the winter returning to the mountains where the water supply was assured. As their homes were threatened, they began to abandon the small settlements and to gather together into large defense villages, building forts and terracing the hills, though they still had to follow their migratory cycle in order to exist. They had to learn to live closer together and to co-operate among themselves and between villages in fighting the night attackers. They began, too, to develop supernatural sanctions for fighting and killing the Apache, a system of beliefs and practices which was of vital importance for survival in that period. A few of these beliefs still remain. 175 648

Not much is known of the Papago for a number of years after Kino's death in 1711. The Apache continued to raid. The Papago protected themselves as best they could and at the same time learned to utilize the horses and cattle they had acquired: horses simplified their transportation problem, and cattle added a source of meat. The wheat added to their food supply—when it was not burned or stolen by the enemy.

Missionaries were few in northern Sonora, for the life and problems were difficult. For about thirty years the Papago saw no priest, though work was revived along the Santa Cruz and the missions of San Gabriel de Guébavi and San Xavier del Bac were refounded in 1732. In 1736 Father Sedelmayr went to Tubatama. He wrote that many Papago came to work for him, reconstructing the old missions; they were nothing but skin and bones when they arrived, but they left "fat and instructed." This Father made two trips through the Papago country. In 1752 there was an uprising of the Lower Pima and southern Papago against the Spanish. It was bloody but short-lived, and thereafter the Indians were not so docile or so friendly toward the whites. 175 797

After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans took up their work. Between 1769 and 1774 Father Garces made three trips to the desert, recommending the founding of two missions. One stone-and-mud chapel was built east of the Santa Rosa Mountains, and the Father from San Xavier visited there infrequently prior to 1827.

It is possible that during this period the Sonora Catholic church, a sect without organization or official connection, had its beginning among the Papago. For its devotees, religion was an individual matter of owning pictures of saints and saying prayers—in short, of worshiping as well as they knew how in the Catholic way, learned from brief observation and practice. The Catholic missionary procedure is not to eradicate former religions but rather to reinterpret them. In this case, the Fathers had little opportunity even to reinterpret, 175 794

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

UP TO THE PRESENT

The new Papago Agency began to have other marked effects on the life of the Desert People: wells were dug in several villages; the hospital was built; the Indian court was established. The Indians did not like some of the agents and their policies and did not hesitate to say so. In one case they organized politically and fought an agent so successfully that he was removed (see chap. vii).

This period saw also a renewal of Catholic missionary work which had lapsed during the nineteenth century. For several years after 1908, brief trips were made to Gu Achi by various Roman Catholic priests who were stationed on the Pima Reservation. In 1915 a resident priest was given jurisdiction over the area, and he made his headquarters near Ko Vaya (Cobabi). In 1923 Father Bonaventure Oblasser moved the headquarters to Topawa. One or sometimes two priests served the Reservation for the next decade, carrying on the work of the church and directing its mission schools, which were taught by young Papago. Visits were seldom made to the westernmost part of the Reservation, and it was not until the 1930's that an increase of personnel brought an expansion of Catholic missionary work.

Systematic Protestant missions to the Papago started in 1910, when a Presbyterian missionary began to make regular trips to the Reservation.[21] By 1912 a church and school of that denomination were established at Indian Oasis, which is now Sells. Two years later a church and school were set up at San Miguel, and, in 1920, churches were built in Vamori and Topawa. Some older Sonora Catholics were converted; often their children were in boarding school, and word was sent that the children should now attend Presbyterian Sunday school instead of Catholic services. The third generation of Presbyterians is now beginning to grow up, and the membership, a minority on the Reservation, remains mostly in the families of the eastern districts who were first converted. Today many of the most active tribal leaders are of this faith.

THE NEW ERA

The two main causes of the changes that took place in the fourth period of Papago history, which began in the early 1930's, are the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Indian Reorganization (Wheeler-Howard) Act. These changes have been accelerated to a great extent by World War II.

21. The Papago say that about 1900 some Mormons came to Topawa and "dipped" a few people; they did not continue their missionary efforts, and the Papago who had been converted to the Mormon faith later became Presbyterians. About the same time, one Papago informant says, a few Indians were converted by a Negro woman who preached a life of poverty and sharing and called her followers "Israelites." Carl Lumholtz (*New Trails in Mexico*, p. 40) writes that this was a part of a revivalist movement started by the "prophet" Dowie. The converts later became Presbyterians.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

into districts, and the boundaries were fenced; elections were held. Since 1937 the Papago Tribal Council has been meeting regularly and handling much of the business of the tribe, with suggestions and guidance from the Agency. The Council still does not have the support of all the Papago, but there is more co-operation now between the people and the federal government, as represented by the Agency, than ever before.

While tribal organization was being changed, the Roman Catholic church reorganized its missions. Instead of one priest for the whole Reservation, there are now six, with two at San Xavier. Sisters came to teach. There is a concerted, yet slow and cautious, effort to bring the Sonora Catholic Papago into the fold of the church and to wean them from some of the older practices, such as the Indian marriage customs. On the surface these efforts seem to be partially successful, but such endeavors take time. In 1943 the Presbyterian missions also began a reorganization.

With the advent of war, Papago were drafted, and both men and women began to leave the Reservation in large numbers to work in the cotton fields, ranches, mines, railroads, and airplane factories. The effect of this new work pattern will be far-reaching. If the people become thoroughly acclimated to wage labor and then suddenly face an economic depression, the effects may be tragic for them as for other minority groups.

With all these forces at work on the Reservation it might well be asked: What is left of Papago culture? A few members of the tribe have become Americanized, but the majority are still very much Papago. The old culture is strong, although it seems on the surface to have changed a great deal. Many of the old customs and beliefs still dominate the peoples' lives today, not because the Papago want to reject new things but just because, to them, the old way is "the way to do things."

Yet there is no rigidity in the Papago adherence to their old ways. Adaptability seems to be a fundamental part of Papago character; indeed, existence in the desert, with its extremes of heat and cold, drought and flood, want and plenty, requires adaptability. From their first contacts with white men, the Desert People began to take from white culture what appealed to them. The white men came as allies, not as conquerors, and there was no catastrophic conflict. The Papago were always fairly secure in the ownership of their land, and no overwhelming force was exerted on them to change their ways, hence there was no reason to close in upon themselves as did the Pueblo and the Yaqui Indians. Thus the Papago were able, without deep emotional conflicts, to add to their own culture many of the values and traits of a foreign way of life. In the following chapters we shall see what the results have been.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

at it, would try to influence it. Such interference might upset the whole Papago scheme of things. 771 609

Fear of interference is based to some extent on experience. For many years the government tried to stop the summer rain ceremonies because they involved wine and intoxication. With characteristic elasticity, the Papago merely attended the ceremony in another village when pressure on their own community became too severe. Such efforts on the part of the government were abandoned in 1933, when it was conceded that Indians, like other citizens, have a right to religious freedom. Presbyterian missionaries have tried to stop the "heathen rites" by forbidding their converts to attend, and within their own territory they have been fairly successful. The approach of the Roman Catholics has been quite different; they have worked slowly, trying first to eliminate from native belief what they felt to be contrary to their fundamental creed and then, with time and a good deal of sympathy and understanding, seeking to bring the people to more orthodox faith and practice. 771 609 797

Despite the fact that for a decade white interference has been very limited, much of the old religion has disappeared. In most parts of the Reservation people say that the old men who know the ancient ceremonies are dying off and that no one else has learned how to conduct them, and they bemoan the consequent disasters. This applies, however, chiefly to the ceremonials in which many participated. The rites of the medicine man and singers, which do not require a group, apparently flourish everywhere on the Reservation, though Papago fear that these may die off, too.

Papago ceremonial life seems to be mainly concerned with two things: rain and health. Though many of the old practices have disappeared, the emphasis on these two all-important areas continues.

BRINGING RAIN

Many Papago songs—secular as well as religious—mention the importance of rain, and everyone takes care to do the proper things to bring rain. (For example, when the cactus fruit is picked, its shell must be left on the ground with the inside exposed.) Though the medicine men's principal function is to diagnose the cause of illness, they also look for the cause when rain does not come. During the severe drought of 1943, medicine men from all parts of the Reservation met to inquire into the causes; one of the reasons appeared to them to be the killing of horses in the dourine epidemic. 789

Most of the old Papago ceremonials are in one way or another connected with bringing rain, even though the primary purpose may be different. The annual treks to the Gulf of California in the old days were made to get salt,

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

DIVERSE CREEDS

THE OLD AND THE NEW

All the Sonora Catholics adhere to aboriginal beliefs. *Santos* are buried with the dead as food and clothing were in the old days. San Francisco and the rain spirits, Spanish prayers and the medicine man's eagle feather, are believed equally efficacious in bringing rain. During one severe drought, a medicine man decided that the cause lay in the inadequate care of *santos* which had been interred when their owner had died. So the medicine man directed certain women to retrieve the sacred pictures and bring them to the church, where a circle dance would be held. As the women were returning with the *santos*, a great storm broke. Thenceforth, these *santos* were kept in a shrine; they are pictures of San Francisco.

At another place on the Reservation, the women sought to end a drought by walking through the fields with their *santos* and singing Spanish hymns. This they did for four days. The rain came on the fourth day.

Thus the old and the new exist side by side or are inextricably blended. The Papago uses every means at his disposal to bring rain; he summons every power for good of which he knows to bring good luck and good health. Perhaps one or another of these powers is responsible; it does not matter, for the Papago has done what he could.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

When the Franciscans renewed Catholic missionary activities among the Papago early in the twentieth century, most of the Indians were Sonora Catholics. To the priests these people were hardly Catholics at all; their faith, the priests said, was a "religion of externals," of whose real meaning they were unaware.

In the southeastern, central, and extreme northern parts of the Reservation the Franciscans began to teach the Roman creed, to introduce the Mass and other sacraments, and to make the Papago "good Catholics." At about twenty villages there are now Roman Catholic churches (see Map I), and many Papago have been baptized, attend Mass, and send their children to one of the five mission schools on the main Reservation.

In the western districts the Franciscans have made little headway, and most of the people remain Sonora Catholics. Here the first converts were made about 1929, when a few children were baptized, and in the following years priests came now and then to draw more of the people into the fold. Some of the converts, however, reverted to the Sonora faith after a difference with the priests, who have since referred to them with grave disapproval as "Montezumas." In 1941 one Franciscan began to make regular trips to the west to

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

794 celebrate Mass for the remaining Roman Catholic families, but no permanent
797 mission or school has ever been set up.

To the casual observer the Roman Catholic Papago appear not very different from their Sonora Catholic neighbors. Obvious differences are that the Roman Catholics go to Mass, are sometimes married in the church, and know some Latin prayers and songs. They try to have their children baptized and often send them to the mission schools.

Roman Catholic fiestas are like the Sonoran, except that the priest approves the day and puts in an appearance. The priests have discouraged the annual pilgrimage to Magdalena, but some Roman Catholic families still go. They also observe the year of mourning and set out their tables for the dead on All Souls' Day. They too seek supernatural aid in bringing rain, and Masses are sometimes said for this purpose.

Personal relations between members of the two groups are undisturbed by differences in belief. Roman Catholic parents may wish to have Sonora Catholic friends as godparents for their children.[12] Since the Roman church requires that the sponsors themselves be persons who have been baptized, the ceremony cannot be performed by a priest, but many parents are untroubled by this situation and quite content to have the godparents apply the holy water. Others have a Roman Catholic couple as sponsors and ask Sonora Catholic friends to officiate at a second ceremony. This easy adaptation of a foreign institution
[177] to suit their own circumstances is characteristic of the Papago.

Like the Sonorans, the Roman Catholics combine the old religion with the new. As has been previously pointed out, the priests have been less concerned with wiping out the old religion than have the Protestant missionaries, but they try to wean their people away from these "superstitions." One priest compares them with the belief in banshees and leprechauns, which, however, are real beings to many devout Catholics of Ireland. The mission schools taught by the Sisters of St. Francis have been important in spreading Roman Catholic doctrine and in combating the old beliefs by raising doubts in the students' minds.[13] Some "good Catholics" go to the wine ceremonies. Most consult the medicine men, and a few are themselves medicine men or singers.

794 However, the priests are not so tolerant of other magical practices. Recently
797 a non-Papago faith healer came to Topawa, claiming to perform miracles of
756 healing. Hundreds of the Papago flocked to camp near her headquarters and waited several days for an audience. Papago informants, attributing to the

12. The reader will recall from chapter iv that the godparents are a part of the extended family and have social as well as religious functions.

13. Other aspects of these schools are discussed in the following chapter.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

healer their own philosophy, said that a few sick people were cured and that "they might stay cured if they kept doing what she told them: being kind to animals, never getting angry, being good to people." White informants said that the healer tied pictures or printed prayers to the afflicted parts and claimed that her prayers would make them well. Both whites and Indians pointed out that the healer and the trader near whose store she held forth made a good deal of money. The priests in great indignation closed the doors of the church on the Sunday the healer was in town and threatened to excommunicate those who consulted her. No one but God, they are reported to have said, could perform miracles in Topawa.

The attitude of the Papago toward the Catholic clergy varies. In the western districts many of the Sonorans—and particularly the "Montezumas"—look upon them as people who are trying to upset Papago tradition, possibly as just another group of "Milikans" attempting to force an alien culture upon the Desert People. In the vicinity of the Franciscan missions, the priests have often been a considerable help to the people in practical ways. Some of them are friendly persons who have learned the Papago language and want to know their parishioners well. But many Papago still look upon them with a certain mistrust, and others feel that the clergy are too far removed from them in social and religious standing for intimacy and complete confidence. The people are also quick to point out any seeming neglect of priestly duties. However, there is little bitter antipathy to the priests; by all exept the intransigents of the West, they are considered part of the present scene. From them, as from other representatives of white culture, one takes orders when necessary and help when it is offered. But one's family and native social setting are at most times far more important.

PRESBYTERIANISM

The approach of the Presbyterian missionaries has been very different from that of the Franciscans. The Presbyterians have more systematically used Indians and the Indian tongue in spreading their gospel. In their four churches —at Sells, San Miguel,[14] Vamori, and Topawa, all in the southeastern part of the Reservation—Indians serve as ministers, and an Indian missionary is stationed in Gu Achi. Four of these Indians are Pima, and the other is Papago, but all conduct services in the Papago language. The congregations are governed by elected "elders," who are Papago. The Presbyterians have also capitalized upon the Papago love of music and lay emphasis on congregational

14. The church at San Miguel is also attended by the Presbyterians of the neighboring village, Chuulic.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

794 797 singing of hymns (in English) and on special anthems by the choir. The annual camp meeting at Sells, when Presbyterians come from other villages to spend a week or so camping near the church, attending services, and visiting with relatives, is somewhat in the tradition of the old intervillage activities.

Otherwise Presbyterian teachings have run counter in many ways to the Papago way of living. The old native beliefs are condemned as wicked superstitions. The use of alcohol and tobacco is officially prohibited to members, and dancing is banned. In short, the Papago are urged to live according to the moral code that prevailed in many American small towns a generation ago.

In the face of these attacks on their old and well-integrated culture, why did Papago embrace the new faith? The Desert People had already had a good many contacts with American culture, and some Papago felt that they could not remain static but must change with the changing times. One of the desirable changes was schooling for children, and the Presbyterian school near Tucson was one of the first available to Papago. The children usually came back active Presbyterians and became leaders in their communities.

The Papago themselves give various reasons why Presbyterianism appealed to them. Some found the preaching clear in contrast to the mystery of Catholic ritual and Latin hymns and prayers. Others liked the "strictness" of the religion. Many enjoyed hymn-singing and the social side of gathering for camp meetings (and undoubtedly the emotional release in public confession).[15] The use of Indians as preachers appealed to some Papago, for they like to receive guidance from their own people. They appreciated the chances to help run church affairs as elders and members of committees rather than having church government the concern of white outsiders only. Many say that they were made to feel that Presbyterianism stood for "progress" and "enlightenment," for good schools and hospitals as well as a new faith.

794 797 578 Whatever the reasons, many individuals in the five villages accepted the new faith. Contrary to the old pattern, this change was not always made by whole families, and group solidarity was badly shaken. Nearly twenty years of bitterness followed. Families were split when some brothers and sisters retained the old faith and others accepted the new. Since becoming a Presbyterian was in itself a condemnation of many of the old ways—the ceremonies, the medicine men's rites, Indian marriage customs, drinking, and dancing—resentment followed, and the air was charged with bitter quarrels. The schism spread from the family to all aspects of life. Economic and political co-operation became almost impossible.

Finally in 1929 the air was cleared in a battle over Agency policies, when

[673] 15. The sins usually confessed are, interestingly enough, neglect or bad treatment of relatives.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

quarrels over religion were overshadowed and people took sides without reference to creed (see chap. vii). During the past decade the bitterness has died down, for Protestants and Catholics have found that they must work together if the tribe is to better its status. The Presbyterians are seeing the necessity for more tolerance of the old culture. Some are again visiting the medicine men; some set out their tables for the dead in November. The younger generation of Presbyterians is not so defensive, although, as we shall see in chapter xviii, the new faith has not been without influence on the personalities of the children. The two groups are beginning to attend each other's ceremonies, and, more important, family relationships are improving. Trouble still flares up occasionally, but the fact that family ties and obligations have reasserted themselves speaks for the underlying strength of these relationships. Even white leaders of the two churches are beginning to feel that the Reservation is big enough so that everyone can get along.

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The actual number of Presbyterians is smaller than the effects of the new faith might lead one to expect, for only in five villages are there Presbyterian congregations. No new churches have been built since 1920, and there is only one school—at San Miguel. In the year of this study there were no Presbyterians west of Gu Achi (in the center of the Reservation), and no missionary work had been attempted in the western districts.

Though the number of Presbyterians is relatively small, it includes many men who can take leadership in the Papago world where it meets the white world (as in the tribal council) and men who, according to white standards, are capable of holding jobs. Several reasons have been suggested for this high proportion of leaders: that the Presbyterians learn English better through the English hymns which are so important in church ceremonies; that they realize more clearly the benefits of education and are more persistent in their efforts to attain it; that Roman Catholic children are handicapped by the training offered in the mission schools; that the Agency gives unconscious preference to Protestants in hiring employees; that the southeastern part of the Reservation where Presbyterians live has had longest contacts with whites and thus is more acculturated. There is probably truth in all these contentions. In the past, Presbyterian children have seemed the most anxious for higher education and have gone off the Reservation for it; perhaps this accounts for their greater employability. The Catholic schools were poor, but their reorganization in the thirties has improved them. Likely the real reason for the high proportion of Presbyterian leaders is a combination of all these factors, with the probability that it was the more aggressive individuals, dissatisfied with the old ways, who adopted the new, not only in religion but in education, economics, and politics as well.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

In the eastern districts there are more stores, and trade is generally brisker, so that there is not so much opportunity for extended personal contact; then, too, there are other white people to ask for advice or assistance. Hence the relationship between trader and Indian is likely to be more impersonal than in the West. Furthermore, there are a few Indian traders to supply some commercial needs.

THE PAPAGO AND GOVERNMENT: THE AGENCY

The three Papago reservations are under the jurisdiction of the Sells Agency[2] of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, headed by a superintendent and staffed by about two hundred administrators, technicians, clerical and manual workers. In addition to the Administrative Branch, which has the general "housekeeping" duties of the staff, the Agency is composed of three branches: Indian Resources and Engineering (whose functions were discussed in chap. iii), Community Services—Education, Health, Law and Order, and Social Service—which are discussed below. This staff performs for a group of nearly seven thousand Indians many of the functions which in other parts of the country are the province of such local and state organizations and officials as boards of health, education and welfare, state and municipal highway departments, county agents, boards of supervisors, and public safety departments. In most of its programs the Agency staff works in close co-operation with the tribal council, and it seeks to gain widespread public support before new developments are initiated.

PAPAGO SCHOOLS

As previously noted, the Papago have a short life-span, two-fifths of the population being under eighteen years of age, according to ration-book data in 1942. The school-age group alone (six to seventeen years, inclusive) numbered 1,681 children—25 per cent of the population. Not only a much higher proportion of the people are of school age than is customary in other parts of the country, but many of the children live in tiny remote villages, where roads are only wagon trails. Thus the problem of providing schools is greater.

There were in 1943 eighteen day schools on the three Papago reservations. Of these, eleven were maintained by the Indian Service, all of them on the main Reservation. The Roman Catholic missions had six day schools (one on the San Xavier Reservation) and the Presbyterians one at San Miguel in Chukut Kuk District. Off the reservations, Papago children attend four boarding schools and various special schools and sanatoriums run by the Indian

2. Renamed "Papago Indian Agency" in 1948.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

struction by missionaries is permitted one hour a week, with the children divided according to the creed of their parents, but none are forced to attend. Corporal punishment is forbidden. 871

The success of this method naturally depends heavily upon the interest and ability of the individual teachers and their supervisors. Teaching shy children of varying ages and attainments in a language which is not their own is difficult, to say the least. Understanding of and sympathy for a culture so different from the teacher's own are not to be acquired merely by good will. They are essential, however, to success in teaching and living in an Indian village, for the school is intended to be a community center as well as a place for children to learn "the three R's." Teachers are encouraged to organize adult classes in English and in various phases of homemaking and agriculture, and they often act as liaison between the people and the Agency. They give social services on an informal basis: they use the school phone to summon a doctor or get his advice for the sick; they often supply transportation to the villagers; they write letters; sometimes their advice is sought in personal problems. Some teachers occasionally help in farming. A few have entered into the life of the community, studied and recorded the ways of the village, started various enterprises, and in almost every phase of village life have made their influence felt. Most teachers do not reach this integration with the community; but, whatever the relationship, the teacher in the more isolated village may be one of the few white people with whom the Indians have much contact. Thus the attitude of the people toward her often determines their attitude toward white society. 875

The aims of the mission schools, on the other hand, are largely religious. Their methods are more like those of parochial schools in other parts of the country, with standard textbooks and materials not particularly suited to the experience or temperament of Indian children. Corporal punishment is used. In the Catholic schools the mien of the teaching sisters is rather distant, and instant obedience is demanded. These teachers have little to do with Indians other than their pupils, but the supervisor of the Catholic schools is much closer to the people than is the Reservation principal. In his capacity as priest, he has continual contact with his parishioners, as do the other Fathers, one of whom has learned the Papago language. 871 797

Formal schooling on any very large scale is too new among the Papago to make possible any valid evaluation of the results of either government or religious schools. It may be significant, however, that more children from government than from mission schools go on to institutions of higher education. 871

It is obvious that much needs to be done before adequate education is avail-

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

morality, as indicated by the greater emphasis on character traits like kindness and friendliness rather than on the value of work. Seen together with these children's concern about aggression and other bad behavior and their frequent admissions of anger caused by experienced aggressions as revealed by the Emotional Response Test, this shifting of values suggests the rise of tensions and conflicts which cannot be effectively controlled by the action of work.

The children's answers directly reflect values taught by the missions, as well as disturbances of cultural and socioeconomic cohesion, as is manifest, for example, in the split between Catholic and Presbyterian Papago and in the increasing influence of individual wealth and prestige in a formerly uniform and levelized group (see chaps. vi and vii).

To the Papago, work was centered in and done for the family group. White standards of competition and individual achievement thus must seem to him—and probably are, in effect—in direct opposition to the central institution of his life. The individual who is being slowly deprived of the confident assurance that his world is unquestionably right, absolute, and eternal must then resort to other sources of security and accept other values and standards of behavior.

Christianity, as it has been presented to the eastern Papago for the last thirty years, has obviously become the most important new source of security. In the beginning it may have caused doubt and conflict, but today the Papago's serious and eager participation in mission services and institutions is ample evidence that here he finds security.

The Christian principles of peace, kindness, consideration for one's neighbor, and avoidance of aggression are familiar to the Papago, in whose culture these principles have long had a place. While previously they were devices with a social function, developed out of the needs of Papago family groups and communities and aimed toward their best possible maintenance, these principles are now presented as imperative moral demands of an absolute character, to be pursued by the individual independently of, and if necessary even against, actual requirements of the society. As the scope of these demands is not limited to the accomplishment of certain duties but extends to self-improvement and salvation, "goodness" and "badness" are now becoming the attributes not only of actions but also of thoughts, attitudes, and motives. Psychologically they imply a stronger development of personal conscience and of self-scrutiny and guilt feelings.

Whether and how far this pattern of changing behavior standards fits the changing total psychological and socioeconomic situation we shall see when dealing specifically with the problems of Papago adjustment to white American civilization. At this point a few words should be said about one unexpected

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

pliance. Partly, however, it seems to be the genuine trait of a people forced to adapt to conditions of scarcity within a vast desert area; of a people who, instead of strongly defending what they have, are constantly on the lookout for new opportunities.

How far this genuine plasticity may be an essential element of Papago personalities is hinted at by certain differences in the basic reaction patterns revealed in the Rorschach test of the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic children in the eastern districts. The two tested groups were rather small, including only forty-one and twenty-nine children, respectively; hence the test results must be evaluated with great caution and considered only as a suggestive basis for more thorough research. Still, differences between the groups are striking enough to justify mention here. They concern mainly the areas of emotional control and of the defense mechanisms used in periods of stress and insecurity.

Presbyterian children on the average appeared strictly to control and even to repress their emotions. They showed a pronounced trend toward withdrawal into themselves, giving a picture of established introversion. Roman Catholic children revealed instead on the average a high degree of impulsiveness and a tendency toward emotional outbreaks. Thus, in comparison with the reaction pattern of western Papago children, both Presbyterian and Roman Catholic children of the eastern districts showed deviations in self-discipline—an increase of its conscious and internalized use among the Presbyterian children and a certain incapacity for controlling their impulses among the Roman Catholics.

Whether and how far such differences are due to specific influences of the doctrines and educational methods of the two missionary groups is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine clearly, but there seems to be a certain congruency between the psychological patterns and the doctrines and methods. Presbyterians emphasize a personal conscience and strictly individual moral responsibility. As observed on the Papago Reservation at the time of the study, they combine a definite regard for family discipline and authority with a constant, detailed, and direct checking system, mutually employed by church members and missionaries. The Catholic missionary's approach to the Papago accentuates ritual observance and acceptance on faith of transcendental concepts and complex symbols far removed from native comprehension except by intuition. Though the clergy refrain from everyday contacts and interference with the people, they appear to laymen as representatives of a powerful hierarchy who in all their relations with the Papago maintain the claim of unquestionable religious authority.

In the process of acculturation both doctrines and methods have shown their

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

157 177 197 strength and their acceptability for the Papago, who receive from one a firm religious foundation for their patriarchal family life of hard work and cooperation, and from the other a magnificent exaltation of their own beliefs in grace and magic. Whatever insecurity the Presbyterian teachings may have caused probably center in the unaccustomed direct pressure and in the strict religious and moral exclusionism which might result in a relative loss of spontaneity, in introversion, and in constriction. Catholic teachings might produce emotional instability through the bewildering necessity for the Papago to combine what he feels as a heightening and deepening of his visionary tendencies with new principles of obedience and authority which formalize and generalize his purely personal experience.

157 177 Based on the results of one test only and on relatively small groups of children, these statements are largely speculative. But even if they be disregarded on this account, the integration of all the test results with the attitudes observed in present-day Papago life gives one main impression of Papago children: They are characterized by a high capacity for absorption of alien values and forms of life and, at the same time, by an almost equally high tendency to evade clear-cut commitments. Both traits have grown from the specific background of Papago culture, and together they constitute a combination which may be conducive to the survival of the Papago minority and its future adjustment to white American civilization. Papago evasiveness, though often a cause of despair for the white administrator who would like to speed up acculturation, apparently does not serve as a barrier to acculturation but acts rather as a cushion against destructive pressure, slowing the revolutionary process into one of gradual assimilation. This leaves time and opportunity for the development of the necessary psychological equivalents to socioeconomic changes.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

live in Mexico. The name Papago is usually interpreted as meaning "bean people." Their tribal name as employed by themselves is *Óotam*, which means "the people." They call the Pima Indians *Ákimuri Óotam*, "river people," referring appropriately to their habitat on the Gila River. The Pima call the Papago *Tóono Óotam*, "desert people."

The early Spanish missionaries were unable to exercise much influence over this tribe. The indefatigable Jesuit, Father Kino, who in the present State of Sonora in 1687 established his first mission, Dolores, travelled much in the Papagueria or Pimeria Alta, as far as the Gila River and crossing the Colorado. He was treated kindly by the Papagoes; but they have, nevertheless, been described by the early chroniclers as wild and dangerous. According to Mr. Bandelier, there is no historical record left of their customs and religion beyond that concerning the prevalence of witchcraft, which is still much in evidence. Even up to recent years the Papagoes made short work of medicine-men suspected of witchcraft.

The topographical position of the missions that were established was such that with the forts, or presidios, they formed a barrier against the Apaches, who were the main obstacle to the Christianizing and civilizing efforts of the Spaniard. Some of the missions of the "Province of Sonora" grew to be very rich in cattle and cultivated lands, feeding, as a recent Mexican author says, "a multitude of pagans who flocked there and helped in the work of the mission when needed." Sometimes the

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

missions furnished the troops with horses. In the Papagueria proper there were well-to-do missions such as Caborca, but the nature of most of that country would indicate that they were generally on a modest scale. There was one in Sonoita and two on the Gila River. In 1751–3 there was a revolt in Pimeria Alta, and in 1840 the Papagoes again revolted against the government.

With the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, and later of the Franciscans in 1828, the missions as well as the forts decayed and vanished. Changing political conditions in Mexico also contributed toward their disappearance. To-day the former missions interest few and are left to the archæologist to trace. Such has been the fate also of the missions among the Yaqui, Opata, and Seri Indians.

As for the Papago, the greater part of the tribe never could be induced to live in pueblos, or villages, which was always the policy of the Spanish missionary. In spite of the efforts of the Jesuits and Franciscans, the Papagoes are still living in their *rancherias* as of old, half nomadic in habit, resorting in the winter to the sierras where water is more plentiful and where their cattle, horses, mules, and donkeys find good grazing ground. In the summer they move to the broad, flat valleys to devote themselves to agriculture which is made possible by the aid of the showers that fall in July and August. They do not usually pursue irrigation beyond the diverting of rain water into ditches. In the summer they raise maize, beans, watermelons, and squashes, and in the winter when infrequent light showers usually may be depended

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

be temporarily deserted, and there would be no one to look after our wagon, we had to abandon our intended trip to Pozo Verde, the largest Papago rancheria at the present time in Sonora. Its name, Green Spring, has the same significance in the Papago language, and the locality is important in the native mythology. Baboquivari rises about a thousand feet above the llano near the boundary line, losing itself in Mexico in low ranges and mountains.

On our return we made a détour into a rancheria called Sepánovak ("Smell of the Coyote"), which was situated in a narrow valley of the Baboquivari Range. It had been settled of late years and was small and unattractive. Discarded clothing was lying about, and the inhabitants looked like poor white people, although they owned lots of live stock. Judging from the fine looking fat horses and cattle down on the plains, a different opinion would have been formed of the owners; it was something like the disappointment one feels when a smart turnout of horses with driver and footman discloses ordinary-looking people inside the carriage. Natural and harmonious conditions are the only ones that count in life.

One interesting family, that of Ramon Cachora, lived a little further up the valley from here, he, his two sons and his son-in-law having been leaders in a religious movement of a white man's stamp. They were so-called educated Indians, and a daughter of his had been to Carlisle. It was an anomalous case, for, strange to say, they had become converts to the revivalism of the

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

prophet Dowie, who a few years ago made such a stir in various parts of the United States. One of his agents, a lady in Phœnix, had been instrumental in bringing this about.

To understand this conversion, it must be remembered that all Indians are of a religious disposition. In their aboriginal state, while never giving up their own beliefs, the Indians have little objection to any foreign creed; the more religion the better for them. They are quite sincere about it. When these Papagoes heard of the strange teaching of the modern Elijah, it appealed to them. The world was coming to an end and they were going to get ready; people sold what little they owned and settled in the Comobabi Mountains awaiting the arrival of the new Messiah. There were from forty to fifty souls all told, men, women, and children. Ramon Cachora, who was well off, sold his two hundred head of cattle; he became the leader and they sustained themselves mainly with the proceeds of this sale. There was no white man with them. They had everything in common and their rules were strict; brandy and tobacco were forbidden. Sometimes they had services lasting the entire day. For three years they waited for the Messiah to come; then hunger broke up the sect.

A herd of horses and a number of cows, many with calves, that had come in to drink the night before, walked off again in the morning to pasture in the plains some six or eight miles away. I asked a man how long a time it would be before they returned and he answered: "A few will come next day, most of them the day after to-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

764 scription, in this case almost hidden under huge piles of palo verde branches. A tiny enclosure of upright ocotillo stems was pointed out to me as the modern cemetery, due to the teaching of the missionary. Bundles of clothing to be used by the deceased had been placed among the branches of trees near both cemeteries.

INTRODUCTION

Papagueria, the home of the Papago, is a barren strip of country along the Mexican border between the Gila River in southern Arizona and the Altar in northern Sonora. The northern portion of Papagueria was a part of Mexico until 1854, the year of the Gadsden Purchase. Many of the Indians speak Spanish and the whole country shows customs of Spanish origin. This country was, in the old days, always thought of as part of Pimeria Alta, the land of the Pimas, who are now scattered along the Gila River. Papago and Pima, in fact, speak the same language with only slight variations, and have for the two tribes only one name, The People, being differentiated as River People (Pimas) and Desert People (Papagos). For our purposes we may allude to the combined People as Pimans, since most statements that can be made about one branch of the Pimas are true or have been true for the other, and it is only within comparatively recent times that a noticeable difference has grown up.

The Pimans are a part of the great Uto-Aztecan language family which stretches from Idaho to beyond Mexico City. Their own language is similar to that of other tribes in northern Mexico, such as Opata, Yaqui, Mayo, Tarahumare and Huichol. They were thought of by the first Spanish explorers as the northernmost of the wild tribes who stretched into the wilderness beyond Mexico City, but because of the inhospitality of their desert land they did not suffer the thorough conquest which befell the other Mexican tribes, and have thus kept many of their ancient customs intact.

The great missionary, Kino, came to the Papagos in 1687 and labored brilliantly for some twenty-five years. But the church could not be induced to make of this desert country the elaborate venture which he desired. Although a few priests were sent to help him the missions dwindled

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

177 soon after his death and their later history, in spite of the picturesque labors of the saintly Garces, shows no great revival. The Papagos, after a brief Spanish influence, were left to their own devices. They had acquired horses from the Spaniards, and had learned to plant wheat and some imported vegetables and fruits. Their houses gradually changed and adobe dwellings came into use, and as they adopted clothing it was the colorful mantilla and the Spanish cowboy costume which appealed to them. Many had been baptized by Kino and they continued to seek the priests so as to get for their children Spanish names. Except for these changes their old life continued, while the Pimas, whose contact was with the American whites of gold rush days, changed more rapidly. This paper therefore presents a brief account of Papago customs and ethnobiology as reported by the first Spaniards and as seen in the remoter villages at the present day.

132 The Papago country is one of the hottest in the Southwest; the annual rainfall is about five inches and this takes the form of violent storms in the summer, when for a few hours the washes run full. The country is a series of flat
133 valleys between abrupt low ridges or hills, and it is only
221 in the hills that there are springs which give a permanent water supply. Therefore, to get even drinking water the Papagos had to lead a migratory life, although it was a migration within set bounds. In the summer, after the torrential rains, they moved to the flat land to plant their small gardens, and from this base scattered out on food-gathering parties. The women brought in leaves, fruits, seeds, and roots; the boys hunted rabbits and birds, while the men attended to what agriculture was possible. They dug a reservoir which supplied them with drinking and washing water while it lasted, after which the whole village had to move.

224 There was generally a winter camp where all the members went, and this was called the Well, while the summer dwelling was known as the Fields. At the Well every family

17:Castetter & Underhill N, E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

Gambel quail was the most important food bird. It was trapped in a very rough cage of split giant cactus ribs *(Carnegia gigantea)*. Mourning doves might also be caught in it though these were usually shot with arrows when they were roosting at dusk; they are still hunted and used as food. No bird eggs were ever used.

REPTILES AND WORMS

The desert tortoise *(Gopherus agassizii)*, known as *komaktci't*, was not hunted but people seeing one would take it home and cook it for food.

The worms used were, when young, about an inch long and yellow, but they matured in a few days and turned green. They appeared in quantities just after or during the rainy season on any green growth, especially the amaranth *(Amaranthus palmeri)*. Everyone dropped work to gather them, for they were considered a great delicacy.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

The Papago pets in the old days were dogs *(Canis familiaris)* and a few species of birds. Dogs were used to guard the houses, rarely for hunting. The breed was a small white one, in build like a coyote *(Canis lestes)* but with softer fur and only half the size. Coyotes were kept as pets if captured young.

Arrow feathers were obtained from a species of hawk *(Accipiter* sp.), and these were housed in wicker cages and fed with rats and lizards. The tail feathers were pulled whenever they grew long enough. Spanish accounts speak of a number of macaws *(Ara* sp.) being kept for their feathers at San Xavier (27), but this being before Papago occupancy there is no tradition of it.

Father Kino (3) at the beginning of the eighteenth century distributed droves of horses *(Equus caballus)*, cattle *(Bos taurus)*, sheep *(Ovis aries)*, and goats *(Capra hircus)* to all his missions and to many villages where he hoped to establish missions later.

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European Contact. The first important contact between Papagos and Europeans came about when Father Eusebio Kino brought his missionary program into what is now Sonora and Arizona in the late 1600's and early 1700's. Of greatest significance to the Papago was the Spanish introduction of cattle, sheep, goats, and horses. On several journeys into what is now southern Arizona Kino had stock from the missions of Sonora driven north, and cattle and horses quickly became established in many areas. Unfortunately for the Papago, the Apache in the mountainous areas to the north and east found Papago stock a strong lure for increased raiding activities; as the Apache now also had horses, they could travel far and fast, and both Pima and Papago were forced to defend themselves by means of more carefully organized military activities than had previously been common. The advantages of a greatly increased meat supply from cattle and the increased mobility made possible with horses, were at least partly offset by the continued Apache raids, which neither Papago nor Spanish measures were fully successful against.

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In spite of Kino's vigorous beginnings, missionary activities were on a small scale and most Papagos remained largely isolated from Spanish contact, except indirectly through the new plants and animals that had been introduced. During the many years of revolution by which

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10,235 acres within the Gila Bend Reservation, a total of 2,855,920 acres."

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No changes of any importance in Papago land holdings have been made since 1944, but a very important change in the nature of Indian title came about in 1955 when, by Act of Congress, the Papago were given all mineral, as well as surface, rights to the reservation.

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The history of the establishment of the Papago reservations reveals how recently the large majority of Papago have been directly exposed to non-Indian health, education, religious, and other programs. It was not until [648] 1917 that the first federal school was established on the [871] main reservation at Sells and it was not until after 1917 that any attempt was made to develop Papago resources.

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The decades following 1910 also saw a renewal of Catholic missionary work and the commencement of Protestant missionary work. The history of the modern influence of Christianity on the reservations is reported by Joseph, Spicer and Chesky (1949):

> "For several years after 1908, brief trips were made to Gu Achi by various Roman Catholic priests who were stationed on the Pima Reservation. In 1915 a resident priest was given jurisdiction over the area, and he made his headquarters near Ko Vaya (Cobabi). In 1923 Father Bonaventure Oblasser moved the headquarters to Topawa. One or sometimes two priests served the reservations for the next decade, carrying on the work of the church and directing its mission schools, which were taught by young Papago. Visits were seldom made to the westernmost part of the reservation,

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and it was not until the 1930's that an increase of personnel brought an expansion of Catholic Missionary work.

"Systematic Protestant missions to the Papago started in 1910, when a Presbyterian missionary began to make regular trips to the main reservation. By 1912 a church and school of that denomination were established at Indian Oasis. Two years later a church and school were set up at San Miguel, and, in 1920, churches were built in Vamori and Topawa. Some older Sonora Catholics were converted; often their children were in boarding school, and word was sent that the children should now attend Presbyterian Sunday School instead of Catholic services. The third generation of Presbyterians is now beginning to grow up, and the membership, a minority on the reservation, remains mostly in the families of the eastern district who were first converted."

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Even though scattered schools and churches were established on the main Papago reservations after 1917 and some work was done in the development of stock water and irrigation systems, the most important events in the recent history of the Papago took place after 1930. The most important of these events were the "liberalization" of federal control over the lives of Indians, changes in Indian attitudes toward an improved way of life which took place during and after the second World War, and the appropriation of more adequate federal funds for Indian education, health, resources development, and many other purposes after the early 1950's.

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The nearly absolute control over the lives of Indians which marked governmental policies during the early part of the twentieth century, was finally ended in the

In an earlier day, reservation residence required an adjustment to a desert environment. This being the case, towns were always near a source of water and near acceptable pasture and flood water farm land. At the present time, with wage work becoming increasingly important, in fact essential to the great majority of Indians during some period of the year, residence near a source of wage work is also important. 178 361 433 [464]

Another change in Papago life has also been noted. As recently as thirty or forty years ago community needs were simple and most Papago villages were self-sufficient. Today this is true only for Sells. Other villages look elsewhere for one or another of the essential community services: shopping, education, health services, religion, government, and the like. These needs are met in a slightly different fashion in each of the nine districts. 178 621 628

Baboquivari District. Although the districts -- as political subdivisions of the main reservation -- were established in 1937, long after the founding of most villages, certain internal district relationships have been built through time which are now important. In Baboquivari district Topawa serves as the voting place in tribal and district elections. It is also the center for the education of Catholic youngsters, and is the ceremonial center for Catholic activities throughout the reservation. Native ceremonial activities and traditional folk medicine centers 634 621 628 368 [666] [797] [796]

[Arizona Labor Camps]

517 of necessity, much
52 more reliance is placed by harvest hands on forms of amusement requiring a minimum of equipment and space: drinking, crap shooting, card playing, sexual indulgence.

797 Cotton pickers hauled from towns each day of course
527 had recreational resources of those population centers at their disposal. They could attend church on Sunday.
[563] Farmers make little effort to provide access to churches for their employees in labor camps. For some cotton pickers racial discrimination is a problem. As one Negro woman at Marana said, "There's a church over there, all right. But we don't know if they take colored. We don't go." For Catholic Papagos as Catholic Mexican-Americans, this is no problem. But farmers don't provide Sunday transportation to trading towns. The Desert People stay in labor camps on the Sabbath, except for a few from San Xavier who can take a bus home for the day occasionally.

529 About half the Papago women in the camps do some washing on Sunday.[1] An occasional individual picks some cotton, but most simply loaf around camp with nothing
[178] constructive to occupy them. Sonora Catholics make their household shrines in a corner of their cabins, and use
527 them. In labor camps where all residents are Papagos, or
346 where there are many of the Desert People in a large camp, they take over an empty cabin to furnish a chapel where they can hold their services.[2] One far-sighted farmer who understood his Papago employees built a fine chapel for them when he constructed a new concrete block camp, but such understanding is indeed rare. Labor camp chapels seem to serve a quarter of the Papago harvest hands.[3]

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[1] Based on information from 8 families.

[2] "Sonora Catholicism antedates other Christian faiths on
529 the Reservation today, for the belief and practice of Son-
797 ora Catholics are remants of the teachings of the early
795 Spanish missionaries, acquired either directly from the pa-
346 dres, or through other Indians or Mexicans. During the
797 generations when no Catholic clergy came to Papagueria and the nearest priests were far away in Mexico, the faithful carried on as best they could the ceremonies and devotions of the church.

[178] "With the absence of priests and the passage of time, much of the Roman creed and ritual vanished. In the Son-
[179] ora Catholic churches, for example, there are no Mass, no hymns and prayers in Latin, no confession, and no marriage ceremony. Children are baptized by godparents, and the people bury their own dead." Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 81-82.

[3] Based on information from 8 families.

WHY the Desert People work

461 464 The Desert People pick cotton because they need the money they are paid for their labor. Cotton harvesting is hard work and dirty, but as one young Papago who picks 300 pounds a day told the author, "$9 a day is a lot of money to me!" Picking cotton is the most practical way for unskilled Papagos to earn any large sum, and Papago cotton pickers superficially come very close to the concept of the economic man governed only by "laws" of economics. But there are deep-lying cultural reasons for this attitude and need among the Desert People.

CHANGE IN VIEWPOINT

177 178 Originally the Papago people lived in a manner quite different than they do today. After unknown centuries in their harsh semi-desert environment, they had worked out a marvelous adjustment to unfriendly nature and a military balance with surrounding Indians. But the Desert People have had some contacts with Europeans for 250 years. During those two and a half centuries, more and more Papago behaviors have changed to approximate European behaviors. Forms, if not meanings, of Papago action are frequently much like our own. Of course, habits and thoughts most central to Papago culture remain Indian in character. The most complete and striking changes have probably occurred in the economic spheres of life.

174 431 437 [224] Once material goods apparently changed hands among the Desert People through a system of gift exchange. A successful hunter divided his kill among families in his village. Later the wife of a good farmer divided some of her tasty dishes so the hunter received an amount roughly equivalent to his meat. Each family was an economic unit if necessary, and no kindred looked beyond its numbers for aid.

175 ● 790 [190] [130] [241] [465] When Spanish missionaries reached the Desert People they set out to change the Indians spiritually and economically. They introduced new crops and domestic animals to the Papagos along with a new religion. Missionaries introduced the Desert People to a work-exchange system, in which Indians were paid in kind for harvesting and other work (and even for attending mass at first)

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at the missions. Familiarity with the work-exchange idea prepared Papagos for the system of barter prevalent in the rural areas on the frontiers of New Spain. At least by the time New Spain won its independence and called itself Mexico the Desert People had begun to work and trade for money. But their homeland economy was still on a barter basis, and did not go onto a cash basis until after many years of control by Anglo-Americans.

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Anglos established the first stores the Desert People had seen, and brought a much wider selection of foods and goods to be purchased with cash. Anglos were in the habit of paying for labor in cash rather than kind. As the Indians began to want the new foods and goods their own economy collapsed. Always the Desert People had survived on a very narrow margin in their resource-poor environment. But they always got by. Now as they acquired tastes for new foods and desires for new goods, their resources could not supply the surplus needed to purchase them. The Papagos had to convert their only unexploited resource--their own labor--into the cash they needed to buy new necessities. Their economy changed from a food-gathering-agricultural-hunting-work exchange subsistence economy to a wage labor-agricultural cash economy.

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The role Papago women have played in these changes cannot be overemphasized. They found it far easier to prepare and cook foods from trading posts than to gather the desert foods, prepare and cook them. Half the food eaten on the reserves now is purchased.[1] Many articles of Anglo technology--irons, sewing machines, flour, etc. --made women's work easier, and Papago women adopted them. This has meant Papago men and frequently women too had to work for cash to pay for purchased foods and sewing machines and cloth and durable goods.

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This need for cash is recognized by the realistic Desert People and moves them to hire out for wage labor. They have wants which they feel strongly. They realize their wants can be satisfied only with cash, and they have found cash can be acquired in most cases only by marketing their labor, since it is the major Papago resource. Their other resources simply cannot produce the cash necessary to satisfy their wants.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 37.

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422 As it is, the horses kept by each family seem to run just slightly under the number allowed on permits assigned by the Council. Among families picking cotton, the average permit was for 7 horses.[1]

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231 Papago harvest hands can go off and leave unplanted fields without worrying. But the laborer with cattle or horses has a problem. Three-fourths of the pickers with animals in 1950 left them in the care of some relative--a brother, son, father, or uncle.[2] This fact is apparently one main reason for members of the Papago extended family remaining on the reserves while others go off to pick cotton. Along with the pattern of leaving [603] children with their grandparents so they can continue [871] uninterrupted in Indian Bureau schools, it illustrates the continuing economic function of the Papago extend- [594] ed family. Although the biological family is the main unit working for wages, in the wider economic picture it is the extended family which is the functioning unit.

The laborers who do not leave their animals in someone's care simply let them run loose on the reserve or occasionally a family will be able to bring its horses to a labor camp.

464 On the reserved lands themselves, the labor market is relatively restricted. Employers are limited to the U. S. Indian Bureau (hiring over 100 Desert People)[3] the Papago Tribe (hiring half a dozen Papagos full time) the state and county highway departments, trading posts, and mines. These jobs generally require some degree of skill and training, and are filled by those of the Desert People who have had more educational opportunities. [797] A high proportion of these employees are Presbyterians [871] because of the emphasis Papago converts place upon education, and good quality of denomination schools.

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464 Many cotton harvesters recognise these fundamental reasons for their working. When they expressed their reasons for coming to the fields to labor, they said they came because "We don't have any fields," or "I didn't have a job," (the most frequent reply). Or some recognized the cause, but thought in the old mental paths of the Desert People: "There hasn't been any rain."

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[1] 13 of the families giving data had permits for 91 head.
[2] 9 of 12 families giving information did.
[3] Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 37.

Immediate reasons Papagos work--

461 794 796 Aside from the necessity for earning enough cash to buy food and clothing, there are other reasons for earning money. During the picking season three important religious events occur. These are the feast days of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis Xavier, and All Souls Day of the Roman Catholic ceremonial calendar. A very high proportion of the tribe goes to one or another, or all three.

795 184 Although several denominations have gained a foothold among the Desert People, the vast majority are orthodox or Sonora Catholics. Harvest hands in 1950 were about 95% Catholic.[1] The rest are about evenly divided between Protestants and individuals consciously rejecting Christian allegiance to practice native forms of religion or none at all. The Presbyterian church has the largest following among Protestant groups, with six congregations on the reservation. [197] There are other missions on the reservations. However, missionary activity does not extend to labor camps.[2]

484 788 782 755 796 From the great reservoir of Papago Catholics come the pilgrims to Magdalena, San Xavier, Chuwhiy Guwsk at fiesta time. These pilgrims make their journeys primarily to keep promises they've made to the Saint, or to ask him to intercede for them. Because they have very deep faith in the powers of St. Francis to cure illnesses, the Desert People frequently vow to the Saint that if the petitioner or one of his loved ones is cured, he will visit the statue of the Saint in the Magdalena (or San Xavier or Chuwhiy Guwsk) church. Often the person vows to make four such visits, to place a number of candles for the Saint, to leave him an amount of money, perhaps even to walk from the border to Magdalena or to perform some other penance.

78 [776] [778] Not all those petitioning the Saint seek health. Some ask aid in business, love or other ventures. The Desert People bring statues and pictures from their household shrines and chapels to press against the statue of the Saint for his blessing. They buy yards of bright ribbons, sold in shops thrown up about the

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[1] Based on information from 35 individuals.
[2] Not 1 of 9 persons questioned had seen a missionary in 1950. 1 had in a previous year.

511 fruits and sugar cane, baked goods and all sorts of
435 manufactured articles. A couple of large ears of
788 boiled green corn costing 40 centavos were almost a meal. With the exchange rate at almost 9 pesos to the U. S. dollar, the Desert People could eat cheaply in Magdalena. $4 for a three-day stay in 1950 was ample.

Thus a Papago pilgrim spending 3 days at the 1950 fiesta needed about $20 U. S. to travel to and from Magdalena, and eat and sleep while there. But probably every Papago spent more than that amount, and most spent considerably more. There were candles to be bought for the saint, coins to be left in his box, ribbons to buy, statues for the household shrine, and other religious mementos, including a colored pin or
[293] a picture. And because Mexico does not discriminate against her Indian citizens in the matter of liquor as does the U. S., there was good Mexican beer and mescal and tequila to drink without let or hindrance. Most pilgrams probably spent $25 in 1950, and many spent up to $40 or $50 each.

788 San Xavier on the Papagos' own San Xavier reservation is not nearly so exciting as the Mexican town, but it is nearer and felt to be safer--many Papagos have an almost pathologic fear of Mexican pachucos.
● [297] Staffed with Franciscans, San Xavier is still an Indian church, still an Indian mission. To San Xavier go from 15% to 20% of the pilgrims from the cotton fields.[1] This is a much less expensive pilgrimage than the one to Magdalena. There is no town with its shops and bars (although the city of Tucson is only a dozen miles away for shopping). Bus fare is cheaper. The 450 to 500 Papago pickers making a pilgrimage to San Xavier had tamer times.

Chuwhiy Guwsk is a relatively new goal for pilgrims. San Xavier and Magdalena were founded by the first Jesuit missionary to the Desert People, Fr. Eusebio Kino, before 1700. The present churches were built under later Franciscan friars in the Spanish colonial period. But Chuwhiy Guwsk was never the site of a mission. Just south of the international boundary in Mexico, it is still an Indian town. Mexicans from

[Text Continues on P. 93]

[1] 4 of 23 whose pilgrimmage goal was obtained went to San Xavier--17%.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28

In the spring of 1890 the land was allotted to the Indians in severalty, and it may now be divided as to quality as follows:

	Acres.
Land that is farmed	500
Land that is not now farmed on account of deficient water supply	1,500
Timbered land allotted	5,000
Mesa land, suitable for pasturage, allotted	35,000
Mountain land, including desert land that can be pastured 2 months in the year	30,000

The 1,500 acres not farmed on account of deficient water supply may be farmed when a better and more economical mode of irrigation is adopted than that now practiced by the Indians. The 5,000 acres of timbered land is what is usually called mesquite land, from which the Papagos procure their fuel and sell considerable quantities from year to year. The 35,000 acres of mountain land is next to worthless.

There are 94 heads of families on the reservation, and a little more than 5 acres of farming land (land that is irrigated) are allotted to each head of a family. The 500 acres of allotted land are surveyed and staked out. The area of land cultivated is diminished, and no progress is being made in methods of farming. Most of their income seemed to be obtained from the sale of wood and hay cut on the reservation.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS RAISED AND STOCK OWNED BY INDIANS FOR 1889–1890.

PRODUCTS, STOCK, AND LAND.	Number.	Value.
Total value of agricultural products		$7,170
Bushels of barley	6,000	3,000
Bushels of corn	1,000	1,000
Bushels of vegetables	1,650	1,650
Melons	200	20
Pumpkins	1,000	100
Tons of hay cut	100	1,400
Total value of live stock		4,325
Horses owned by Indians	200	3,000
Cattle owned by Indians	150	1,200
Domestic fowls owned by Indians	100	25
Acres under fence	14,000	
Fence made during year (rods)	7,700	

All of the Papago Indians living on reservations are in a village near San Xavier church. Their dwellings are mostly rude adobe, with dirt roofs and few windows, and are almost destitute of furniture except the most primitive. There are only 14 comfortable adobe houses. Many of the Indians own farm wagons, though their farming tools are rude and unserviceable. The men all wear the civilized dress; the women also wear dresses similar to those worn by the whites, but leave off their shoes on ordinary occasions. It is claimed that 250 of the Indians living on the reservation are members of the Catholic church.

STATISTICS OF THE RESERVATION PAPAGOS.

Whole number living on the reservation		362
Males	184	
Females	178	
Children under 1 year of age		23
Males	11	
Females	12	
Number married		169
Number over 20 years of age who can read		10
Number who can read and write		10
Number who can use English enough for ordinary conversation		29
Number of children of school age		93

SCHOOLS.—The Catholic church has provided 2 neat, well-furnished schoolrooms adjoining San Xavier church, which will accommodate about 70 pupils. A school was maintained there during the year 1889 by the Sisters of the order of Saint Joseph, without pecuniary aid from the United States. The average attendance for the year ending June 30, 1890, was about 20. In addition to elementary studies the girls were taught sewing, crocheting, knitting, and minor household duties. A few of them became quite skillful in operating the sewing machine. The great drawback to the prosperity of the school was the irregularity in attendance. The school was again opened in September, 1890.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28
Pima NU29

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There is what is termed a "contract school" located at Tucson, which many of the Papago children attend. The school is established and supported in part by a missionary department of the Presbyterian church. The buildings are large, airy, well planned, and adapted to the purpose required. The pupils seem well disciplined and clean. The government pays a stated sum annually to the school for each pupil in attendance as reimbursement for board and clothing furnished. The school owns 5 or 6 good buildings, all in good condition and well furnished, also a farm of 43 acres. On account of lack of water but few garden vegetables are grown, but barley and wheat yield abundantly.

Some of the scholars are taught carpentering, painting, and plastering, and their work is quite satisfactory.

PAPAGOS LIVING OFF THE RESERVATION.

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These Papago Indians live in the southern part of Pima county, along the southern border of the territory of Arizona. Their language is similar to that spoken by the Pimas. They roam over a country about 100 miles in width north and south and about 125 miles east and west, and there are a few small villages over the Mexican border but near the boundary line.

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The country in which they live consists of broad, open plains, divided by mountain ranges. The valleys or plains are arid, having no natural springs or running streams of water; yet after the summer rains these plains are covered with grass of a fine quality, and owing to the dryness of the air this grass is cured or dried on the ground and furnishes good, rich food for cattle during the remainder of the year.

Pa 361 312 342 [231]

The Indians select their dwelling places at the foot of the mountains near the mouth of the various canyons that open out into the plains. Small springs often flow through these canyons and sink into the sand. The Indians utilize these springs or sink wells into the sand, and thus secure the underflow from the springs. Their cattle feed out into the plains and return to these wells or springs to drink. Near these watering places, usually on an elevation, the Indians build their houses in their permanent villages of adobe, about 12 by 16 feet in area and about 8 feet in height. Small poles are laid on top and crosswise of the building, and on these are laid brush, with weeds or grass on the brush, the whole covered with about 6 inches of clay, which is impervious to water.

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The floor is of clay, and there is one doorway, but no windows. The doorway is sometimes closed with a dried beef hide. As a rule, they live on the outside of the house. The house contains no furniture except a little bedding and some cooking utensils.

Pa 262 439 291

Their food consists of beef, dried wild fruit, dried mesquite beans made into a kind of bread, and wild game. During the summer rains they raise some vegetables, which they dry for winter use. They also sell or trade cattle to settlers in the Gila and Santa Cruz valleys for wheat and corn, which the women grind in their crude way into meal and flour. They have adopted the civilized mode of dress, and are gradually learning the use of soap.

The women of the tribe are virtuous and industrious, being in these traits far in advance of any other tribe in the territory.

Pa 161 648 Pa 46

There are 4,800 of this tribe living off the Papago reservation. With rare exceptions they are self-sustaining, have always been good citizens, and on many occasions have joined with the whites to assist in suppressing murderous Apaches. The principal occupation of the men is raising cattle and horses, and a little farming when they can find a piece of damp ground that will raise corn and vegetables, hunting, chopping wood around mining camps, and ordinary labor wherever they can find it. If there is any mixed blood in the tribe it is not perceptible.

There are several mining camps scattered throughout the country which these Indians inhabit, and in some of the large valleys wealthy men or companies have sunk wells 500 or 1,000 feet deep and established cattle ranches or ranges, and many Indians are employed about these camps and mines.

Pa 133 487 224

The country is somewhat difficult of access, as there are several mountain ranges running through it. The roads follow the valleys, and sometimes it is "a long way around where it is only a short way across". These mountain ranges abound in game, which the Indians hunt.

A month's travel in these Papago villages failed to reveal a single case of drunkenness, although there are frequent instances of drunkenness among Indians in the streets of Tucson. They have great numbers of horses and cattle, but it is impossible to form a correct estimate as to numbers. The horses are small and inferior, but the cattle are fully up to the average in size and quality.

Pa 273 231

These Indians as a tribe have always been exceptionally friendly to the white people. They have never received aid from the government. The little religion they have is a conglomerate of Roman catholicism, superstition, and Indian hoodooism. The Roman Catholic church established missions among them more than 150 years ago.

Pa 648 771 797

THE RESERVATION AND NONRESERVATION PAPAGO INDIANS, PIMA AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent C. W. Wood on the reservation and nonreservation Papagos of Pima and Cochise counties.

Pa 101 [101] Pa [797]

TRIBAL NAME.—The Papagos and Pimas were formerly one tribe. Authorities differ as to the derivation and meaning of the name. One view is that Papago means "hair cut", another that it means "baptized". Neither of these meanings has any etymological basis or value. The most reasonable derivation of the term seems to be the following, derived from conversation with the oldest Indians: the division of the Pimas occurred from the labors

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU 28

101 of the jesuit missionaries. When a considerable number of them had accepted the teachings of the missionaries
●797 they were called, by way of distinction, Papagos, from the Spanish word for pope, "papa". Baptism was involved in their becoming christians, and hair cutting was an incidental result of the influence of the missionaries. Neither of these facts, however, can account for the name. On the other hand, the derivation from "papa" is etymological and consistent with the facts. They had become adherent to the pope. So far as I can learn, this explanation of and origin of the name has never been published.

The resident missionary at Sacaton gave still another derivation of the word Papago. He speaks and preaches in the Indian tongue, and thinks the name is derived from the word "pa-pa-cot", meaning discontented. This could easily be corrupted into Papago. The Indians at an early date became much dissatisfied with the practices and tyranny of the jesuits, and this term was naturally applied to them.

166 The Papagos are a semi-nomadic tribe, their migrations being due to the peculiar character of the country which they inhabit. The exigencies of food, water, and labor are the principal causes of their temporary changes of habitation; but the extent of their migrations, and the localities which they occupy for varying periods, are within certain limitations. When, through the presence of wells or running water, the supply of that indispensable element is unfailing, they migrate in search of food or labor.

[312] When the water supply, which is procured from natural water holes or the earth reservoirs constructed by them, called tanks, where it accumulates during the rainy season, has been consumed, they remove to the vicinity of wells or running water found in the canyons of the mountains or in the deep valleys among the foothills. This migratory feature of their life greatly enhances the difficulty of an exact enumeration of the tribe.

[131] The territory over which they range lies south of the Southern Pacific railroad, in Arizona, and is about 100 by 150 miles in extent. Many thousands are also located in the state of Sonora, Mexico. They move back and forth at will between the two countries, and when a village is found in motion inquiry alone can determine, and then not always with certainty, on which side of the line they really belong.

161 From various publications relating to Arizona, and from the statements of ranchmen, miners, traders, surveyors, and a census enumerator, quite conflicting and divergent estimates were obtained of the number of the Papagos. These estimates range from 3,000 to 7,000, while most of them agree on 5,000 or 6,000 as the real number. One difficulty to be experienced in their enumeration is that at any season of the year a village of permanent houses, evidently the abode of hundreds of Indians, may be found without a single inhabitant, not because it has been deserted, but because the inhabitants are gone temporarily, leaving no information as to where they have gone, for what purpose, or for how long a time, and it would be impracticable to wait until their return or to follow them.

The only available method for obtaining even an approximate estimate of the number of these Indians seemed to be to ascertain, as far as practicable, the number of their villages and the aggregate number of houses contained in them. Multiplying the total number of houses by the average number of inmates per house would give a reasonable result. By actually counting the inmates of many houses in several villages, and with the indorsement of the judgment of the enumerator, 5 was adopted as the average number of inmates per house. As not less than 4 nor more than 11 were found in any given case, it was decided that 5 would be a conservative average and insure a total within the actual number rather than in excess of it.

126 In the accompanying map, showing the route during a 10 days' trip through the Papago country, Pima county is
161 given on a scale of 7.5 inches to the mile. The villages are located from actual visitation or on information, with no effort at mathematical accuracy, but with the design of suggesting relations and distances. The trip was planned so as to reach as many villages as possible during the time allowed and to make a fair and correct census. The villages given in red are those actually visited, 5 of which were located by the Indians. The 2 villages marked with black, situated near the large ranch, were located, but omitted by mistake. The accompanying figures indicate the number of houses in each village. The villages given in black were located through the courtesy of
[115] a trader among the Papagos, who is generally conceded to be the best informed person in Arizona in everything which relates to the tribe. The figures in black indicate his estimate of the population of each village. His estimate of the numbers living in the villages actually visited in enumerating varied only about 25, more or less, from the numbers in the given villages obtained by the multiplication of the number of houses by 5. In the cases mentioned the population was from 330 to 500, and such close agreement gave additional credibility to both his and our estimate.

161 The number of resident Indians at San Xavier was ascertained exactly when the reservation was divided among them in severalty, and is perfectly reliable.

Papagos at San Xavier	363
Papagos on line of expedition:	
467 houses, multiplied by 5	2,335
Additional, estimated by I. D. Smith	2,465
	5,063
Additional, reported by C. W. Crouse, agent at Sacaton (Papagos on the old reservation at Gila Bend)	40
Resident at Sacaton reservation	60
Total	5,163

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU29

The Papagos are not addicted to

intoxicating drink, but smoking and gambling are so common among them that they will even stake their clothing on races, either by men or horses, and on the simple games with which they are familiar.

RELIGION.—The Papagos are nominally Catholics. Adults and children wear crosses and charms. They believe in witches and evil spirits, and buy charms to insure good luck.

At the little village of Ki-ki-wah, where there are a number of returned scholars, it was said that a simple service was held by these "graduates", in which they explained on Sundays the things they had learned about the white man's religion. At the village called Gunsight 2 Mormons have been living among the Indians for nearly 2 years.

EDUCATION.—The Papago youth of both sexes show considerable capacity for mental culture. Many of the Papagos speak Spanish fluently, even after having been at school for 2 or 3 years. When at home on their vacations they only hear Papago and Spanish, which tends to the disuse of what English they have acquired. They are docile, mild in disposition, and well inclined toward their teachers. They learn slowly but surely. The chief difficulty of receiving any permanent benefit from educating them is that they are so disastrously affected by the conditions which meet them when they return to their homes. They virtually return to barbarism and all old influences of a nonprogressive character.

The boys readily learn improved methods of agriculture, also the trades of tinsmith, blacksmith, and carpenter, while the girls learn sewing, cooking, and the general duties of housekeeping.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.—During the 3 years of the Tucson Presbyterian mission school 73 Papago children have been enrolled. There are 50 now on the rolls. The number enrolled at the San Xavier reservation schools is about 20. At Sacaton there are 15 Papagos on the roll. The government school there is well conducted.

It will be seen that in the district visited, with the addition of the Papago scholars at San Xavier, not more than 100 in all of these children are in school. The total number of Papago children of school age is probably about 2,000. Their parents will exercise no authority to secure their attendance at school even when they wish them to go, nor, on the other hand, do they hinder them if they desire an education.

PATHOLOGICAL.—The Papagos are very liable to consumption and pneumonia. This arises from the exposure to which they are subject in inclement weather, as all mud roofs leak in protracted rains and a pitch sufficient to carry off the rain would cause the adobe itself to wash off entirely. Many of the tribe are pitted badly with smallpox. Children are subject to measles and whooping cough in addition to lung difficulties. The Papagos have no medical treatment whatever among themselves, and in case of sickness resort to the "medicine man" with his mummeries.

The Indians seem to be able to deal with flesh injuries, but are powerless in cases of disease or fractures of bones. In acute local pain they sometimes put a pinch of cotton on the flesh and burn it there, repeating the process on a new spot at a little distance. Ordinarily their only resource is stoical submission.

SAN CARLOS AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent STEPHEN WHITED on the Indians of the White Mountain Apache reservation, Fort Apache subagency, and the Apache, Mohave, and Papago Indians of the San Carlos agency, Arizona, from August to November, 1890.

Names of Indian tribes or parts of tribes occupying reservations: (a) Aravapai, Chilion, Chirikahwa, Koietero, Mimbre, Mogollon, Mohavi, Pinal, San Carlos, Santo, Tonto, and Yuma-Apache.

The unallotted area of the White Mountain reservation is 2,536,000 acres, or 3,950 square miles. The outboundaries have been surveyed. It was established, altered, or changed by executive orders November 9, 1871, December 14, 1872, August 5, 1873, July 21, 1874, April 27, 1876, and January 26 and March 31, 1877.

Indian population June 1, 1890: White Mountain Apaches, 2,131; White Mountain reservation, Fort Apache subagency, 1,930; total Apaches, 4,061; Mohave reservation, 851; Yuma reservation, Mohaves, 240; total at agency, 4,832.

The San Carlos agency is situated on a mesa immediately below the junction of the San Carlos with the Gila river. The altitude is about 2,900 feet above sea level. The records of the United States signal service show that the highest temperature for the summer of 1890 reached, July 6, 109°, the lowest for the winter of 1889–1890 was January 20, being 20°. The earliest frost in the fall of 1889 was November 2, and the latest frost in the spring of 1890 was March 16.

The agent reports to the Indian Office that many government buildings at San Carlos are in bad order. They consist of: No. 1, an adobe building 1 story high, 30 by 60 feet, one-half used as agent's dwelling, one-half for storehouse for grain, $1,000; No. 2, a 1-story adobe, built around a court, whole length about 300 feet, used for agent's offices, telegraph office, several rooms for dwelling, storerooms, shops, etc., whole in bad order, needs new roof, $3,000; No. 3, several small adobe buildings in rear of No. 2, used for shops, storerooms, etc., $200; No. 4, an adobe building, 1 story high, 32 by 52 feet, used as a meal shop, $300; No. 5, an adobe building, used for doctor's office and hospital, in bad order, $500; No. 6, a new stone building, 1 story high, 30 by 120 feet, with 4 cross partitions, built for storage, $5,000; No. 7, a stone building, same size as No. 6, now building, for shops; No. 8, a frame steam gristmill, $6,000; No. 9, a frame water gristmill (at Fort Apache), $6,000.

a The statements giving tribes, areas, and laws for agencies are from the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, pages 434-445. The population is the result of the census.